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N. B.—I give this Discourse to the public, because many whom I love, and in whose judgment I have confidence, have urged it as a duty, and kindly furnished the means for its publication—and also because I wish to express, as publicly as I can, my hearty allegiance to, and sympathy with, our National Government, in its struggle for self-preservation.

L. PERRIN.

NEW BRITAIN, August 26, 1861.

origin I leave untouched. The fact of its existence I lay hold of as an argument in proof of its necessity. It has existed in one form or another in all ages. A felt want of mankind called it into being at an early period ; has continued it till now ; and will continue it in time to come.

Nor is it of special importance to notice here the fact that there have been many and widely different forms of civil government. What we are now to notice is, that civil government, in one form or another, is essential to the existence of human society. Such is man's nature that no considerable number of men can live near each other without it. Nor is there a tribe or nation on earth who do not recognize this fact. It is implied in the very words—tribe, nation, and others of like import. There may be degrees of culture ; there may be steps of progress ; but as we pass from its ruder forms found among savage tribes, to its more perfectly developed systems under a Christian civilization ; every where we see civil government existing in answer to the stern call of necessity. Though often quite imperfect ; though many times cruelly unjust ; yet always it is relatively a blessing. As man is by nature, any government is better than no government. Such and so many are the wicked passions of man that like hidden volcanic fires break out and devastate society wherever the restraints of government are withdrawn, that this earth, as a dwelling place, would be little better than hell itself, if all civil government, imperfect as it is, were abolished. There could be no such thing as families,

neighborhoods, states, or nations, without it. It is therefore necessary to the very existence of human society.

Notice now *secondly*, ITS DIVINE AUTHORITY. A hint of this we might find in that necessity, of which I have just spoken. But clearer evidence than this demands our attention. Civil government is not a purely human institution: that is to say, it is not a device of man, having only the sanction of his authority. Men are indeed the framers of government, and they give to it the particular form, which their measure of civilization demands, but its authority comes from a higher source than man. What has already been said implies this. For that which is found both a necessity and a fact in God's empire, must certainly be a part of His plan.

We are not, however, left to our own reasoning for evidence in this case. No language could be more explicit in setting forth the divine authority of civil government, than is the language of the Bible, and especially the New Testament. Read, for example, the thirteenth chapter of Paul's Epistle to the Romans. He there affirms that rulers are of God's appointment. As agents of God, to enforce the necessary regulations of society, they are called *powers*. According to Paul's teaching, civil government is a *power* ordained of God, and appointed as his *minister* to bear the sword for the suppression and punishment of evil. "For he"—i. e. the *ruler*, whether emperor, king, president or governor—"is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil." And our Saviour presents

substantially the same view of this matter, in the text and context. So that we have not only inspired language, but the language of the great Teacher himself, to prove the divine authority of civil government. And this was a point which our fathers made quite prominent in founding the government under which we live. We, their descendants, have well nigh lost sight of it. Many and powerful have been the influences tending to root out from the nation this idea. Once gone entirely, and the sheet anchor of our government is hopelessly lost. We have sinned grievously as a people, by refusing or neglecting to recognize God's authority in the government under which we have lived, and been prospered and blessed, more than any other people in the world. Our present difficulties and calamities are due in a great measure to the practical atheism of the people, which lurks in such expressions as—"the sovereign people"—"popular sovereignty," and the like. A great and important truth, of which we have been sadly and wickedly forgetful, God is beginning to vindicate. That truth is, that *sovereignty* belongs to Him, and to Him only, in all matters, natural, civil and religious. The state, the government, rulers, by whatever name they are called, are God's ministers; his servants; the instruments by which he executes his will. Of course, the power, the authority, the sovereignty, is of God; and to resist civil government, in the exercise of its legitimate functions, is to resist God. To rebel against it, is to rebel against God. This is the teaching of

Paul, who says: “Whosoever resisteth the *power*, resisteth the ordinance of God.”

It is important that we bear in mind, that this language was first addressed to Jewish Christians under Roman rule. Tiberius, Caligula and Claudius, with their terrible abominations of cruelty, rapacity and hatred, had just past from the theatre of action. Nero, more fiendish, if possible, than they all, had grasped, and was holding firmly the sceptre of empire. It is true the fires of persecution had not yet broken out with their most terrible energy against the Christians to whom Paul writes. But the character of the emperors just named was well known. Their cruelties, their debaucheries, their open wickedness, had given them a world-wide fame. And it was while the reins of government were in such hands that Jesus said to his hearers—Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar’s. And when the cruelty and wickedness of Cæsar had become yet more apparent, Paul declared—“The powers that be are ordained of God.” Even in the hands of such agents, and when men of such high handed wickedness were administering it, civil government was of divine authority, so that he who rebelled against it, rebelled against God. How much more is this true then, when the rulers are upright, and the government just. Surely such a government is of divine authority, and rebellion against it is the highest crime against God and society possible to man.

If then civil government is a necessity—and if it is of divine authority, we can not fail to see *thirdly*, that **IT IS THE DUTY OF EVERY CHRISTIAN CITIZEN TO DO**

ALL IN HIS POWER TO SUSTAIN THE GOVERNMENT UNDER WHICH HE LIVES. That government may not be perfect ; it may indeed be very imperfect ; its working may be quite unequal, and its administration may be corrupt ; but the obligation to sustain it, within the sphere of its legitimate sovereignty, is not graduated by any of these considerations. The command to be subject to government, or to the powers that be, is not qualified. Paul does not say—"Let every soul be subject to the higher powers, if in his judgment they are worthy of it." The command is without qualification or condition. The fact of its existence is to be taken as evidence of its claim. "What!" some one will say, "am I bound to support a wicked government?" Yes, if it be in fact a government, and you are under it. For a wicked government is better than none at all ; and the powers that be are ordained of God, even when a Nero sways the sceptre of empire. It does not devolve upon me as a Christian citizen to investigate and determine the question of its origin and legitimacy before I obey or sustain the government of the land in which I live ; nor is its sovereignty over me originated or measured by my opinion of its rights. Whatever may be said of the doctrine of *passive endurance*, in obedience to a higher law, we can not justify by the Scriptures an open rebellion against civil government, for any cause. Its actual existence is proof to me, that the government under which I find myself is the ordinance or power to which I must yield obedience and support in all civil matters. This is to me, what the image and

superscription on the penny brought to Christ were to those who brought it ; and the command—"Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's," reaches me through this fact of the existence of civil government, and makes subjection and support a duty. The Scriptures leave no place in the creed of a Christian citizen for rebellion.

A revolution in the forms of civil government may take its rise in a rebellion, but the end does not sanctify the means here, any more than elsewhere. Rebellion has often, in the world's history, gathered to itself strength enough to vindicate its claims to recognition as a permanent power among the nations. God has often used the spirit of rebellion, and the forces it has marshalled, to effect great changes for the better in civil society ; just as in other matters he brings good out of evil. This is his prerogative as a sovereign. But it does by no means authorize us to call evil good. To say that rebellion is ever right, is to say that sin is holiness. For rebellion is an attempt to destroy civil government, and it can not be right to destroy, or to attempt to destroy, God's accredited minister, or ordinance.

In the question of paying tribute to Cæsar, which our Saviour answers in the text, the bare fact that Cæsar's image was upon the tribute money ; that is to say, the actual existence of authority and power thus indicated, was taken as proof of obligation. It indicated God's will, and therefore determined or pointed out their duty. And so all that the New Testament says upon the subject of civil government,

recognizes it as the ordinance of God, to be obeyed and sustained for conscience' sake.

Rejecting therefore all the thin and shallow theories of civil government which rest its authority upon a social compact or agreement, we claim for it the authority of God's will; and claiming this we say that motives and considerations of religion, as well as those of expediency, require us as citizens, to uphold and defend the government under which we live. It is doing God service as truly when by our words, our votes or our contributions, we strive to uphold and strengthen the civil government that is established over us—it is obeying God's commands as actually when we do thus, as when we give our support to the special institutions for the promotion of religion. For we can have no sure progress in religion that is not wedded to a progressive civilization; and all true advancement in civilization finds its strength and defence in civil government recognized as the ordinance of God.

There is then a religious as well as a civil obligation binding every Christian citizen to sustain the government under which he lives. At whatever cost of time, of effort, or of money it is effected, he must not shrink from personal sacrifices, until the sovereignty of civil government, within its legitimate sphere is vindicated against every assault of treachery or rebellion at home, and of jealousy or ambition abroad. It is but rendering unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, when at the call of his imperilled government, the citizen soldier appears, to lay himself a sacrifice, if need be, upon the altar

of devotion. It is but rendering unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, when with ready hands and loyal hearts, a people pour treasures without stint into the coffers of government to strengthen and encourage it in the struggle for self-preservation. It is but rendering unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, when a noble impulse of chastened loyalty in woman, says "Go," to the husbands, sons and brothers of the land, who are called to the field of battle in defense and vindication of civil government as God's ordinance. And surely, if amid the vices and cruelties and wild excesses of a government like that of imperial Rome, the great Teacher, by express command, imposed upon Christian subjects the obligation of loyalty and devotion; much more would he with emphasis say to all his followers under a nominally Christian government—"Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's."

This language of Christ then, may serve as our guide in determining our duty at the present time toward our government, which is now put upon a struggle for self-preservation. A more unnatural, unreasonable and thoroughly wicked assault upon God's established ordinance, has never darkened the pages of history, than that which makes the present a crisis in the history of our government. We need to call things by their right names, and trace effects to their real causes, in order to know just what the obligations of religion, as well as the claims of the State, demand of us in this hour of a nation's perplexity and peril. Let us therefore clear away, if possible, the mist and darkness which a designing

sophistry has occasioned in many minds and look this thing fairly in the face. That we may do thus, two things need to be better understood by us as a people.

FIRST. We need to see and feel, that all the states of this Union owe allegiance to a single, common sovereignty. By interchanging the terms Republic and Confederacy—by confounding the ideas expressed by these terms—by an ingenious play upon such ideas as are common to the two forms of government which they designate; the notion has been quite extensively fostered, that civil sovereignty pertains only to the governments of the States singly, and not to the government of the States united, or as we commonly say, the United States. It is of the first importance that we abide by the truth, and the facts, in determining this question; for if sovereignty does not inhere in what we have been so long calling our National government, then it is not a government, and we are not a Nation. Of course, if this is not a government, it has no claim upon our allegiance.

What then is the difference between a Confederacy and a Republic? Let us see. In a Confederacy, the States do not part with, or delegate their sovereignty in regard to any matters. No act of the general government is valid, as binding a particular State, until that State has sanctioned it. The actual sovereignty, therefore, is retained by the individual states. The general government, if it be proper to call it a government, is not a sovereignty—has no positive authority—is not an ordinance of God, in

the sense of being a *power*. There is always an appeal to be made, after its voice is heard, to each State; and unless every State says *amen* to its decision, there is no authority in it. As a form of government therefore, a Confederacy has not in it the elements of sovereignty. It is not Cæsar. Its acts carry with them only the influence of recommendation. The obligation of obedience is not imposed by its commands.

It is far different with a Republic. Here, the several states are no longer sovereign, in matters which the Constitution commits to the general government, but their individual sovereignty is absorbed in a distinct and higher sovereignty, in virtue of which, as by prerogative, that government speaks and acts for all the states; and these, as subjects and subordinates, are under the obligation of obedience, so that to disobey is rebellion. Here, I will let another speak for me, because he had spoken before the present crisis could have an influence to bias or prejudice the mind. "A Republic is a sovereign nation, and acts legitimately as a sovereign among nations, and within the Constitution has no more responsibility to its own states, than to foreign states. When the assent is once given, and the sovereign Republic constituted, no state has the right of secession, or nullification, except by a strict construction of the Constitution itself; and if the right is not plainly expressed, then does it not exist; and those who have adopted the Constitution have vested rights under it which no separate state can amend or disregard. The public freedom, to the extent of the

constitutional provision is henceforth committed to the sovereignty of the Republic as fully and irreversibly as the entire public freedom is in any independent nation; and the crime of treason attaches to all armed resistance to it, as in the rebellion of any part of any nation.”*

We need to keep this difference between a Confederacy and a Republic distinctly in view, if we would see what certain men, and combinations of men, are doing in the land, and feel our obligations to the government in this crisis. If this is a Confederacy, we are under no obligations to the general government as to a power, or sovereignty—a minister of God. If this is a Republic, we owe it an allegiance from which no power on earth, but the Republic itself, can excuse us. It becomes then a question of vital importance to us, which it is. And the question is not, which we would have it, or which we think it ought to be, but which, according to truth and facts, it really is.

In answering this question then, observe three facts. **FIRST.**—The individual states of this Union, with only one exception,† as governments, have never possessed, have never exercised, and until recently, have never claimed a national or complete sovereignty. As colonies, they were subjects of the British crown; and as territories and states they have been subjects of a general government. Until quite recently, not one of these states has attempted to exercise, or even claimed, civil sovereignty.

SECONDLY—The citizens of the several states, as

* Hickok’s Moral Science.

† Texas.

such, and in a solemn form of attestation, have placed the State within the Republic as a subordinate, integral part of one Nation; and have acknowledged, and proclaimed to the world the sovereignty of the Nation, in all matters not reserved by the express provisions and limitation of a Constitution, made, ratified and proclaimed, not by the States, but by the *people of the United States*. The people, by express act and declaration, made the States subjects of a higher sovereignty, when they said—"This constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby; any thing in the constitution or laws of any state, to the contrary notwithstanding."* Thus the Constitution itself, by its clear, guarded language, makes it evident, that our fathers in founding this national government, made it, and intended to make it, a Republic.

Consider, also, a THIRD fact. Having faith in the wisdom and integrity of our fathers, and accrediting their solemn acts, the whole civilized world—all the nations of christendom—have recognized us, and treated with us, as a Republic; so that all our treaties with other nations, all our pledges and stipulations as a nation, at home and abroad, rest for security upon this idea. We have not only allowed but enforced the prevalence of this idea for more than

* Constitution of United States, Art. 6, Sec. 2.

three score years—indeed, during our whole history as a nation. Other nations have never recognized the individual States as competent to hold intercourse with them as sovereigns; and the States have never asserted that right or power.

Still further; even those States which have recently organized a rebellion against the government, have taken and acted upon this view of the matter. Nay more, some of them have with special emphasis published this view to the world. Hear the voice of Virginia, once the mother of Presidents—now the hot-bed of traitors. In her leading public journal* of Nov. 1st, 1814, she says—“No man, no association of men, no state nor set of states, has a right to withdraw itself from this Union of its own accord. The same power which knit us together can only unknit. The same formality which forged the links of the Union is necessary to dissolve it. The majority of states which form the Union must consent to the withdrawal of any one branch of it. Until that consent has been obtained, any attempt to dissolve the Union or obstruct the efficiency of its constitutional laws, is *treason—treason* to all intents and purposes.” Such was the language of Virginia half a century ago. Behold her actions now! By her own mouth let her be judged. Her verdict was boldly given. “*Secession is treason.*” Need we further evidence that this is in fact a Republic? Is it not invested with a sovereignty, which no citizen, or combination of citizens, may resist, without resisting the ordinance of God?

* The Richmond Enquirer.

If then this is a Republic, and not a Confederacy, so that all the States of this Union owe allegiance to this sovereignty; a second important matter for us to bear in mind is, that the struggle in which we are engaged, is in no proper sense of the word a War.

The conscience of christendom has for years been in a process of education toward the point of denying that war is justifiable. And very many Christians in this land, and in other lands, have fairly brought themselves to the conclusion, that the spirit of the gospel can not be reconciled with the justification of war between Christian nations for any purpose. There is just now, therefore, a hesitancy and great misgiving of spirit on the part of many, lest by word or action, they become committed to a justification of war. The authors and supporters of this great and wicked conspiracy are shrewdly playing upon this tenderness of conscience, and turning it to their own advantage as much as possible by the cry—"The North is making war upon the South." It is important, therefore, that we relieve all tender consciences upon this point, if we can, by showing that this is not a *war* in any proper sense of the word. A wrong impression is conveyed, by the use of this word, to designate the conflict in which our government is engaged.

War is a state of hostility and armed conflict between sovereign nations; who, because they have no superior or sovereign to appeal to for the settlement of their difficulties, resort to force and arms. And because they are sovereigns, and therefore

equals, they may, if they will, without by implication relinquishing their sovereignty, submit their differences to an umpire for settlement. Hence the advocates of peace have good ground upon which to affirm that nations ought always to do this.

But this in which we are involved is not a struggle between two sovereignties, who are therefore equals, and may call in an umpire for their relief. It is an assault made by a subject upon its accredited sovereign. It is treason. It is rebellion, of the rankest sort, urging in its own justification and defense the very essence of blasphemy toward God, and tyranny over men. It is as when the law as a sovereign, lays hold, by force, of the murderer to call him to account for his crime; and the principles in the case are not altered, whether it requires only one, or fifty, or five hundred thousand, to act with the sheriff as a "*posse*," in vindicating the sovereignty of the law. Do we call it war, when a criminal is thus met and subdued with force and arms, if need be, by the law?

Let us discard then, the use of this word, to express the conflict in which our government is engaged for the vindication of its sovereignty. Let us cease talking about the North making war upon the South, or the South upon the North, and call things by their right names. This is not war in any proper sense of the word. It is rebellion—sheer, shameless, high-handed rebellion, forcing itself with ambitious and selfish malignity against the authority and power of a government, second to no other government on earth, in the validity of its title to sovereignty, or

in the number and magnitude of the blessings it yields to the people who are its subjects.

Let us see if this is not so. Certain restless and ambitious men in several states, utterly disregarding the rights, and by threats and violence silencing the voice, of other citizens, or forcing them into co-operation, have refused to yield to the Federal Government the service and obedience which the Constitution says they must yield. Without even the form of an appeal to the constituted tribunal for the adjustment of difficulties, and in defiance of the sovereignty lodged in that sacred instrument, which they have sworn to obey and defend, they have said to the country and to the world: "We defy the government; and will destroy it if we can." They have accompanied this declaration with the most graceless and abusive threats and taunts, which only a lawless and treasonable spirit would employ. They have trampled upon many of the sacred defenses of civilized society, violated the rights of person, of conscience and of property; and in their mad haste to steal the march upon the general government they have resorted to perjury, treachery and robbery without scruple; depleting its treasury by frauds—disabling its army and navy by defection—and pouncing upon its unguarded forts and arsenals, and armories, as highwaymen fall upon the unsuspecting traveler. They have outraged even the rules and decencies of savage life, and by a public proclamation defied the better sense of all christendom, by encouraging piracy, and offering a reward for the heads of peaceable citizens, engaged in law-

ful and useful callings. And, as if to vent the inmost virus of this wicked rebellion against the government, they have trailed the symbol of its sovereignty in the dust, while reeking with the blood of its defenders, and lifted a fiendish shout of exultation over the act; insensible to the shame and guilt of their execrable crime.

And shall we call this war? No—no—never! War is a trial of strength and strategic skill between sovereigns, who as such, are equals, and who maintain at least the semblance of honor and decency. War recognizes certain rules of action as demanded by reason, by civilization and religion. But this of which we are now speaking is lawless, fierce, rampant rebellion; pressing into its service the most barefaced acts of treason, and riding rough-shod in its hot haste for power, over the most sacred ties of humanity, and the laws and demands of civilized warfare, until the government is compelled to vindicate its sovereignty—its very existence even—by force and arms.

The question, then, is not whether the North shall make war upon the South. It is whether loyal citizens shall respond to the call of civil government as God's minister, when it is put upon a struggle for existence. We doubt not, that if it were allowed, the sober judgment, and holier impulses of multitudes at the South, would instantly appear in organized resistance to this frenzy of rebels. We doubt not that prayers as sincere and devout as any that we offer, go up to God from southern states, asking

Him to arrest this mad conspiracy in its march of devastation.

It is not, then, a question of war upon the South, or of war at all. It is a question of anarchy or order—a question of rebellion or obedience—a question involving the very existence of civil society. See how it runs down through all the lesser branches of the body politic, and reaches the very heart, and every pulsation of society. If the State may deny the jurisdiction of the Republic, the County may deny the jurisdiction of the State—the Town of the County—and each lesser division may deny the jurisdiction of its superior; until in the chaos of conflicting wills, every man's hand will be against his neighbor.

The real question with us, therefore, is—Shall God's ordinance of government be sustained and perpetuated in this land? Shall responsible power, vested in government as a divine ordinance, and restrained by constitutional limits, sit in sovereignty over our civil relations, and give us liberty, prosperity, happiness and all the untold and priceless blessings which we as a people have enjoyed more than any other people under heaven? or shall the foundations of society be broken up, and universal anarchy curse the land? Such is the real question before us as christian citizens. Can any one hesitate in giving his answer? Does not every consideration of piety as well as of patriotism challenge from us a prompt and spirited reply? Does not the command of Him in whom is vested all sovereignty—that command with which as a text we started upon this

inquiry—answer for us? Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's.

Here is the best government that has ever found a name and place among the nations—a government under which the largest measure of personal liberty compatible with general order and safety is secured to every individual—a government which for half a century and more has been silently breathing its own free spirit into the old and creaking forms of despotism the world over—a government which has yielded a home, protection, and free scope for all manly endeavors, to hundreds of thousands of the persecuted and impoverished of other lands—a government framed by the wisdom, consecrated by the prayers, and bequeathed to us with the benediction of an ancestry whose very names are synonyms of the noblest virtues and the purest graces—here, I say, is *such* a government; confronted and beleaguered by the most arrant treason and wicked rebellion; and in its peril, calling upon us as citizens to uphold it in the effort to withstand the assault. Is this making war upon anybody? No—it is simply obeying the mandate of Heaven, implied in the necessitated existence of civil government and clearly expressed in the Bible. It is God's ordinance vindicating its right to be, and lifting itself in the majesty of its divine commission, while it calls heaven and earth to witness, that its fixed purpose is, *not to bear the sword in vain*.

What then is our duty, when such a government, thus imperiled, calls upon us for support? Does not the text answer this practical question, to which we have come by this discussion?

RENDER UNTO CÆSAR THE THINGS THAT ARE CÆSAR'S.

What things, then, are Cæsar's? What is due to our government, from us, in this day of its peril? *First*, our good will, and ready sanction of all its lawful acts. As things now are, it is a sin against God, the government, and ourselves, to be carping and finding fault, and criticising those errors and imperfections which are unavoidable under such a sudden and intense pressure as now rests upon the Administration at Washington. Let all partisan and personal criticisms then be hushed by an earnest sympathy, until this pressure is removed.

Then *secondly*, we owe the government our earnest prayers for its success in this struggle. More in real value at a time like this, than all "columbiads," and other engines of destruction which guarded the fort in which he fought so nobly, is that spirit of Christian heroism, breathed by the intrepid Anderson, when he said in allusion to the defense of Sumpter—"I put my trust in God, and I believe that God put it into my heart to do what I did." And if such is the feeling of the Christian soldier amid the perils of the conflict, shall we not, like Moses, hold up the hands of prayer, that Israel may prevail? Our family altars, and church conference, brethren, should now as never before, evince to ourselves and to the world, a working faith in God. That Christian who is not found at the place of prayer at a time like this—that Christian whose heart does not prompt him to wrestle with God in prayer, often, for the government, if he is not a rebel, can be counted

no better certainly than a neutral. He is not rendering unto Caesar that which is due.

Thirdly, we must give to the government money—money without stint or grudge. Liberal contributions, and heavy taxes cheerfully given in this crisis, are a better test and proof of true patriotism, than flippant speeches or loud huzzas. Nor may we reasonably expect that this demand for money will end with a single levy. Heavy drafts, repeated for years to come, will doubtless try our perseverance in the matter of thus rendering unto Caesar that which is Caesar's. If this government had cost us more—if we had been made to respond more frequently and largely to its demands for tribute—it might perhaps have nourished among us such a spirit of loyalty, as to discourage all treason at the outset of its wicked endeavors. But it has really cost us so little in a way to be felt, that the people are left in doubt whether we have a government. The people of other countries never have such a doubt. The demand now made upon us for tribute will be likely to remove this doubt from our minds. Let us thank God for the unparalleled munificence in giving, which this crisis has already disclosed. And let every man, rich or poor, when tribute is demanded, show a ready mind.

Fourthly and finally, we must render unto Caesar *men*. Ourselves, if the call is for us—our sons, brothers, husbands, fathers, if the call is for them. Ah! here is where the tribute demanded strikes the most sensitive nerves of the soul! It is when we enter the sacred enclosure of the family, and wrench the

very heartstrings of fathers and mothers, wives and sisters, by laying the demands of Cæsar upon the hearth-stone of *home*—it is when we call for the father, into whose sad eye childhood looks inquiringly as we speak—it is when we call for the young husband, upon whose ruddy cheek the kiss of bridal affection has but just set a holy signet—it is when we call for the son—perhaps the *only* son—whose noble brow the instincts of a mother's heart have bathed with tears such as only a mother sheds; oh! it is when we come to this, in urging the claims of government, that we sound the deepest depths of Christian patriotism, and see a difference between the genuine coin and its counterfeit, that challenges our admiration. Let us thank God that this fiery trial has already disclosed to us in the present generation, so much of that pure gold, which enriched and ennobled the character of our fathers and mothers of blessed memory.

I have endeavored by this argument and appeal to guide you, my hearers, to a Christian view of the crisis which is upon us. I would have you feel that the claims of government are the claims of God, and act accordingly. We are not making war upon any one—we are upholding and defending civil government as the ordinance of God, established for the good of our race. In the name of the Lord God of Hosts, therefore, do we set up our banner—the glorious “stars and stripes;” that banner which was borne in triumph by a Washington from the battles of the Revolution; that banner which has commanded the respect and deference of all the civilized

nations of the world; that banner, whose graceful folds have danced in the breezes of every clime, and kindled the inspiration of hope and joy in despairing millions; that illustrious old banner, which our fathers set up in the name of the God of Liberty, we, their children, will lift from its threatened disgrace, and God helping us, we will keep it waving "o'er the land of the free and the home of the brave," as the ensign of a government, divinely commissioned to bear the sword not in vain, against all treason, rebellion and crime. Its very composition bespeaks its celestial origin. Yes—

" When freedom from her mountain height
 Unfurled her standard to the air,
 She tore the azure robe of night,
 And set the stars of glory there.
 She mingled with its gorgeous dyes
 The milky baldric of the skies ;
 And striped its pure celestial white,
 With streakings of the morning light.
 Then, from his mansion in the sun,
 She called her eagle bearer down,
 And gave into his mighty hand
 The symbol of her chosen land."

Thus recognizing with the poet its heavenly origin, and regarding it as the symbol of our nation's divine commission, who will not add with the emphasis of kindled enthusiasm—

" Flag of the free heart's hope and home !
 By angel hands to valor given—
 Thy stars have lit the welkin dome,
 And all thy hues were born in Heaven!"

May the God in whose name we lift up this banner, make us prompt, patient, liberal, cheerful and successful, in sustaining and defending the best government ever inaugurated as his minister among the nation's of the earth. AMEN.

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